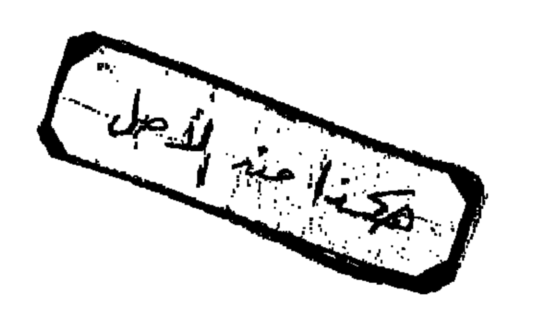


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High-tech sink-or-swim warning by Genscher

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Nations which failed to keep up the pace in in high-tech development would eventually run the risk of not being able to keep up in any sphere, the Bonn Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, has warned.

In a speech to the Confederation of German Employers' Associations annual meeting, he referred to a "gigantic race" between the United States and Japan towards the high-tech information society.

"Those who fail to keep up the pace," he said, referring to microelectronics and bioengineering in particular, "will run the risk of eventually being unable to keep up in any department."

The Federal Republic of Germany and Europe as a whole could only increase prosperity by keeping up with the third industrial revolution led by America and Japan.

The prospects were not bright at present because Germany was lagging behind in both new key technologies.

That was the Pacific challenge that everyone must face up to, a challenge that couldn't be met without intellectual change.

Europe, Herr Genscher said, still had the wherewithal to catch up. It was not a matter of whether it was able to take up the challenge but of whether it was willing to.

The Pacific Region: Its Growing Politico-Strategic and Economic Importance was the topic of an event held two days after the Minister's Bonn speech.

It was held by his planning staff in conjunction with scientists, businessmen, bankers and civil servants from other government departments.

At first glance it looked as though Herr Genscher's instructions had been acted on at surprising speed, but Foreign Office planning staff were probably largely responsible for the issue having been raised when it was.

They will have appreciated in time how vital it was and pointed out to Herr Genscher how urgently action was called for.

The think-in was planned long before his speech, but his words of warning to German employers imbued it with greater importance than would normally have been the case.

The Pacific challenge, one speaker put it, was the key question with regard to Europe's economic, technical and cultural position in tomorrow's world.

Anyone who tought in terms of any sort of future would have to come to terms with this challenge, he felt. But where in Europe today did people think further than a day ahead?

There was certainly little encouragement to be gained from what experts who were not Foreign Office staff had to say to the diplomats.

"The growing dominance of the Pacific basin as a mainstay of the world economy is pushing Europe into an increasingly peripheral position," said a senior Common Market official.

This was a crucial comment in the paper given by the *chef of cabinet* of European Community commissioner Wilhelm Haferkamp.

This forecast recurred in one form or another in nearly all the speeches delivered. Views differed only on whether the situation has to be accepted or could still be changed.

A minority felt the European countries were already too weak to survive competition with the giants of the new growth technologies.

They thus advised making do with the level already reached and shielding Europe from the all-powerful competition with more or less overt protectionism.

The majority felt Europe still stood a small chance of maybe catching up with the leaders by dint of an arduous and protracted process of adjustment that could take years.

Catching up would be a major achievement; more was out of the question inasmuch as "the Pacific region will emerge as the dominant economic zone in the 21st century."

In two to three decades, as the European Commission in Brussels sees it, the region will experience above-average growth in both GNP and per capita earnings.

The predominance of the Atlantic region (consisting of Western Europe and the eastern seaboard of the United States) that has lasted about 200 years will come to a partial end.

So, the forecast goes, will its role as the prime mover in technological progress and the international economy.

Western Europe will probably be harder hit by this shift in weight than North America and the Soviet Union, both of which are oriented toward the Atlantic and the Pacific.

For them it is a shift in domestic emphasis, whereas Europe is hardly in a position to shift its centre of economic (and probably political) gravity from the Atlantic to the Pacific region.

Europe can neither oppose nor opt out of the trend. It is at the mercy of it and has no choice but to face up to it.

This is not to say that Europe will in future be condemned to economic, political and technological insignificance.

It is not to say that Europe will have to give up being an area of the world with high prosperity in terms of incomes, leisure, quality of social life and the environment.

But experts are expecting Europe's share of world GNP to decline, whereas other regions will grow relatively more affluent.

An end to Euro-centrism is in sight. In future Europe will need topay as keen attention to the Pacific region as the Pacific region has so far paid to Europe.

The Old World is already no longer regarded by many Pacific countries as a repository of knowledge and a worthwhile place to visit.

A European strategy toward the Pacific region does not even exist in outline yet, it was said in Bonn, but any strategy that was drafted would need to include education and social policy.

It was a matter of basic attitudes toward change, of ending hostility toward technology, although economic and industrial considerations needed to be given priority.

They would need to be arrived at and endorsed by all EEC member-countries because no one country on its own was strong enough any longer.

Management, staff and the state needed to join forces to make Europe competitive again, the experts said.

European workers were still bemused by ideas of class struggle and would have to learn that they could only hold their own against extremely disciplined, hard-working and motivated workers in the Pacific region by working harder and boosting productivity.

This was essential in view of the lower wages and staff costs of workers in the Pacific region.

They would need to abandon their tendency to oppose the new technologies, the Bonn gathering was told. It was regrettable that trade union representatives were not invited to attend.

It would have been interesting to see how they reacted to a staement such as this:

"European workers, like European society as a whole, have felt for too long they were living like Alice in Wonderland, with more and more pay for less and less work, the same job in the same place and the same manufacturing process for 30 years.

"This paradise of a working world is one that people in the Far East have banished us from for good, sad to say."

Herr Haferkamp's *chef de cabinet*, whose words these were, could hardly have made his points more tellingly.

Governments and the international community also came in for criticism for their "enormous squandering of resources," for doling out subsidies and for the lack of a forward-looking structural policy.

Its lack was particularly apparent at the European level, not to mention the "sorry tale of European particularism."

Planning staff at the Bonn Foreign

Continued on page 2

Kissinger drops in

Former American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (left) with Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn. Dr Kissinger afterwards went to Hamburg to attend former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's 65th birthday. (Photo: Sven Simon)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Bonn spells out its policy towards southern Africa

There is to be no change in Bonn's policy toward southern Africa. The Cabinet has approved without substantial amendments a Foreign Office policy paper.

Outlining German policy toward South Africa, Namibia and the front-line states, it expressly notes that Bonn is opposed, without ifs or buts, to the South African policy of apartheid.

Bonn also accuses Pretoria of attempting to destabilise the front-line states and insists that, contrary to the South African view, the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is not part of UN Security Council resolution 435 on Namibia.

The 32-page policy document is a written answer by the Bonn government to a question tabled by the SPD in the Bundestag.

It is seen in Bonn as a clear rejection of Bavarian bids to force the Christian and Free Democratic coalition to change course on policy toward Africa.

A particularly striking point is the refusal to consider reopening the German consulate in Windhoek, which was closed several years ago.

"The Federal government has no intention," the paper says, "of opening a consulate in Windhoek before establishing diplomatic ties with the government of an independent Namibia."

This formula must have come as a blow to Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss in particular.

He has written to a group of Germans in South-West Africa saying that reopening the consulate in Windhoek would be one of the forthcoming changes in Bonn.

It has been noted with interest in Bonn that the government has in some respects adopted an even tougher line on relations with South Africa than Helmut Schmidt's Social and Free Democratic coalition did.

The paper rules out the imposition of economic sanctions on South Africa and the withdrawal of landing rights in Germany for South African Airways.

But Bonn has uttered a barely-veiled threat to make South African visitors to the Federal Republic have to apply for visas.

"The Federal government regrets," the paper says, "that German citizens have repeatedly been refused entry to South Africa.

"As far as it can tell, refusal has been based primarily on actual or imagined criticism of political and social conditions in South Africa.

"The applicants affected have been mainly representatives of the churches and the media. This attitude on South Africa's part is a serious strain on bilateral ties . . .

"In the circumstances the Federal government must reserve the right to review its own attitude in the light of future South African practice."

Foreign Minister Genscher's paper as adopted by the Bonn Cabinet makes it clear the Federal government intends to keep up the cultural agreement with South Africa.

It does so because the agreement enabled cultural exchange to be extended to the non-white population.

The paper also notes that the Foreign Office's special programme for southern Africa as introduced in 1980 is intended specially to promote measures that benefit the non-white population of South Africa.

Many Social Democrats and church representatives have called on more than one occasion for the agreement to be repealed because it benefits mainly the white population and not the majority of South Africans.

This demand is likely to be reiterated in spite of Bonn's latest official viewpoint, given that the government's position is fairly feeble when facts and figures are examined.

But maybe the Foreign Office is hoping critics of Bonn's South Africa policy will accept shortcomings in the economic and cultural sectors in return for a clear condemnation of South African policies.

Bonn's views are certainly straightforward on this point. "The Federal government is strongly opposed to the system of apartheid in South Africa," the paper says.

"It is a policy that runs counter to fundamental concepts of Western democracy."

With a barely-veiled reference to its critics, the government has this to say on whether Bonn ought to cooperate with South African Opposition groups such as the African National Congress.

"The Federal government reiterates that it considers contacts with all politically and socially relevant forces in South Africa particularly important.

"The comprehensive measures the Federal government undertakes . . . are based on need and demand, regardless of the political views of the people aided."

Bonn demonstrates this readiness for dialogue in Namibia's case. In Part 2 of the paper Swapo's claim to the sole right to represent the Namibian people is rejected, but Bonn stresses that

"Swapo is a crucially important negotiating partner within the framework of endeavours to carry out as soon as possible the solution planned by the United Nations."

That, it adds, is why the Federal government keeps up the dialogue with it.

Neither the mention of Swapo nor the official interpretation by Bonn of UN Security Council resolution 435 are likely to answer Franz Josef Strauss's objections.

Herr Strauss regards Swapo as a terrorist organisation and shares the South African and US view on linkage between independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

On this point the Federal government paper says:

"The call for a settlement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in connection with the solution of the Namibia problem is not part of Security Council reslution 435 or of the planned solution.

"It is a demand made by South Africa and the United States in equal measure and that makes it a fact that cannot be overlooked even though it may lead to delays."

But Bonn does favour the withdrawal of alien forces from the region inasmuch as sufferance of Cuban troops in Angola would jeopardise the German policy aim of true non-alignment for African countries.

This aim is reaffirmed in Part 3 of the paper, and the front-line states in particular are called on to cooperate with the Federal Republic.

This expressly includes Mozambique and Angola, with Bonn assuring them and the others of its readiness to promote bids to foster regional cooperation.

South African attacks on the front-line states' territory is condemend yet again.

Erwin Hirschmann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 25 December 1983)

Technology

Continued from page 1

Office are naturally not in a position to do much about such powerful forces of inertia.

They would be happy if the meeting were at least to prompt the setting-up of an inter-departmental working party.

Europe would need to deal much more intensively and systematically with the Pacific region, it was said in Bonn: culturally, politically, economically and technologically.

Where the political element is concerned the planning staff at the Foreign Office may have started the ball rolling.

Maybe it will only be a small stone for the time being, but better that than none.

Herr Genscher's speech to employers in Bonn has certainly shown that he is very much in tune with his backroom boys on this issue.

Klaus Natorp

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 December 1983)

'No economic strings' to aid policy

De-ideologisation of development aid policy is described by Bonn Economic Cooperation Minister Jurgen Warnke, CSU, as a keynote of his policy.

It was, he said in an interview with *Die Welt*, a clear difference between his policy and that of the former Federal government.

Bonn's bid to proceed without "ideological blinkers" was most clearly apparent in connection with countries such as El Salvador, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe.

In the past there had been a great deal of nonsense about Bonn's development aid policy, it having been considered below the salt, for instance, to bear economic considerations in mind.

His view was that development aid must first aim to promote development of the partner country but also create jobs in Germany.

The Bonn government had no fear of links with private enterprise. It encouraged private commitment, partly by offering low-interest loans toward the cost of setting up branches overseas.

There was no point in providing development aid with an uneasy conscience, as had been the case in the past.

Bonn could afford to stand up and be counted for its aid commitments and was well aware of the responsibility it enjoyed.

"But we aren't to blame for all the world's shortcomings," he said.

A total DM27bn needed to be invested in projects toward which past Bonn governments had pledged support. That left DM6.4bn to play with, as it were.

Given the shortage of cash and leeway in Bonn, aid recipients could expect neither significant growth rates nor a right to specific aid.

One emphasis in development aid in the year ahead would be on Central America, although German aid went to 124 countries in all.

El Salvador was due to receive aid worth DM25m, while the Federal government had given a pointer to policy by deciding to name a new ambassador to the country.

That, Herr Warnke said, did not mean Bonn withdrew its demand for breaches of human rights to end in El Salvador, regardless who committed them.

Efforts to de-ideologise Bonn's development aid policy were also apparent in connection with Nicaragua, where the Federal government had decided not to recall the German ambassador even though "terrible things" were going on there.

Aid projects in Nicaragua were being continued, but no new ones were being launched, which amounted to a ban.

He had decided in favour of this approach because he was banking on the efforts of the Contadora group to arrive at a modicum of pluralism in Nicaragua.

The Minister felt Bonn ought not to use aid policy for purposes of punishment or to espouse the view that what was good for Germany was good for the world.

Neither attitude would succeed. Nicaragua had been shown by the course of events in Grenada that a country could not abuse its own sovereign rights unpunished.

He felt US intervention in Grenada had been justified to prevent any further progress of communism in the area which was on the USA's back doorstep.

Asked whether there were differences of opinion among the Bonn coalition parties in their assessment of Grenada, he said:

"My impression is that the three coalition parties hold common views in their assessment of the situation."

Asked about the GDR's development aid commitments, Herr Warnke said:

"We come across the GDR as an arms supplier, an intelligence service expert and an exporter of ideology."

Manfred Schell

(Die Welt, 16 December 1983)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

A tough year for the Chancellor

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Chancellor Kohl is showing signs of wear and tear after 15 months in office. When he became Chancellor in October 1982, he said he enjoyed governing.

But now his staff says he tends to be moody throughout the week.

When he was Prime Minister of Rhineland-Palatinate, his Monday morning despondency was well known. It was something he had in common with the man in the street.

There are good reasons for the worries:

- Months of nervous strain over the Nato missiles deployment decision and the unpredictable actions of the peace movement;
- The tug-of-war with Bavaria's Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, (CSU), who wants more influence in Bonn;
- The bickering over the nomination of Berlin's Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker as the CDU's candidate for the presidency.
- The Flick affair coupled with the almost inevitable resignation of Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff and the risk this would mean for the coalition.

In addition, Chancellor Kohl has made several strenuous visits abroad.

But what shape is he in politically? Cabinet colleagues say he is steadier and more self assured at meetings. He does not go into long speeches as he did in his early days as Chancellor.

Cabinet meetings are now more firmly under control and more businesslike.

Business representatives paint a similar picture. At the first meeting to exchange ideas at the Chancellery, Kohl had shown signs of diffidence.

He spoke at length about foreign affairs and the business delegates had the feeling that they were not getting through.

But at the next meeting, several weeks ago, the impression was far different. Kohl has summarised the issues briefly and left the elaboration to Lambsdorff, Labour Minister Norbert Blüm and Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg.

Afterwards the business delegates were able to relate their own problems.

They were clearly more satisfied as they returned to their executive suites. The meeting was reminiscent of those with former Chancelor Helmut Schmidt.

Chancellor Kohl often thinks of Schmidt. One member of Kohl's staff says that is has become a sort of trauma that Schmidt could be dumped by his party at the end of his Chancellorship.

He is disturbed by the thought that the same could happen to him. It is less likely. Kohl has one advantage over Schmidt in this field: he is not only Chancellor but also party leader and in addition a man of the party.

Chancellor Kohl, remembering Schmidt's fate when the SPD abandoned him at the party "missile congress" in Cologne, now makes a point of taking a stronger note of CDU opinion, not an easy thing in a coalition government.

He was dismayed when his influence as head of the party was not enough to persuade Richard von Weizsäcker to remain as mayor of Berlin instead of becoming presidential candidate.

Kohl was convinced that his would have made the CDU unbeatable in the 1985 Berlin election.

Victory is now no longer certain and a defeat in Berlin could damage the CDU's bid to form a government in North Rhine-Westphalia, also scheduled to go to the polls in 1985.

The listless way in which Kohl nominated von Weizsäcker for the presidency gave some indication of his mood.

The same listlessness was in evidence at the "small party congress" in Bonn and later at his Berlin press conference.

Kohl's strengthened position as Chancellor and his improved reputation abroad are contrasted by several problems over which he has no or not enough influence.

They include the debate over the efficiency of the Chancellery. And the decision by Kohl's state secretary, Waldemar Schreckenberger, to commission the Federal Audit Office to comment on the organisational arangements at the Chancellery does not exactly testify to self-assurance.

But nobody in the Chancellor's inner circle is worried about his psychological equilibrium. Those familiar with him point to his regenerative powers.

They are certain that a few days of relaxation in his home state will see him back on the job early next year as perky as ever.

Hans-Jörg Sottorf

(Handelsblatt, 20 December 1983)

Schmidt to bow out from top party post

Helmut Schmidt is not seeking re-election to the SPD national executive next year — or any other important party office. It is a logical decision.

Even those whose who regret the decision must concede that any other would have been improbable in view of what has happened in the SPD.

It has long been a foregone conclusion that parliamentary party leader Hans-Jochen Vogel will take Schmidt's place as a deputy party chairman next May.

It would be incompatible with Schmidt's personality to once more become one of the three dozen executive members under Chairman Willy Brandt and his deputies, Vogel and Johannes Rau.

In addition, the SPD party congress next May is likely to want to replace some of the older board members.

Schmidt has differences of opinion with his party.

These differences have less to do with the Social Democratic feeling of unity, which seems intact, than with differences over security and economic policies.

Understandably, Schmidt does not want to be a disenchanted outsider within the party leadership.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 December 1983)

Kohl and Genscher . . . holding together (Photo: Sven Simon)

Kohl holds coalition's fragile unity together

Bonn's coalition has been a fragile one from the very beginning. It started with the FDP changing partner from the SPD to the CDU and and this caused a rift among the Free Democrats.

There were old scores to be settled between the new coalition partners and there was a good deal of doubt, especially by the CSU, about whether the new government would actually be capable of drafting a new policy.

Much could have been learned from the SPD and the way it managed to get along with its difficult partner, the FDP, over many years.

The considerate treatment of the junior partner paid off. The FDP gradually changed its appearance, its programme and the type of voter. The remnants of the old Mende faction gave up and the way for the Social-Liberal era was paved.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl has tried to pave the way for the FDP in the opposite direction, using similar tactics.

And there is no getting away from the fact that even the most conservative of CDU members have been disciplined. They have done nothing to hamper Kohl's efforts to close ranks with the FDP.

The resistance and sniping, particularly against Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff, who was instrumental in the change of coalition partners, came from the CSU.

It was the CSU that describe the new cabinet as a "provisional government."

And the sniping goes on.

Instead of meeting each other half way, the coalition partners gradually drifted apart. The FDP attitude stiffened and people like Gerhard Baum and Hirsch started gaining the upper hand again.

The FDP has always felt a need for image building. It was therefore not surprising that even the few policy changes in the party — especially in domestic affairs — met with growing resistance in a frosty atmosphere.

Though a reasonable agreement was achieved in economic matters, there are cracks in security policy despite recent moves by Bonn. This caused some hectic activity by Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Scepticism grew even among CSU people who, like the party's parliamentary leader in Bonn, Theo Waigel, tried to mediate between Bonn and Munich.

Lambsdorff's portfolio was to be vacated for Strauss, in keeping with ever louder demands from CSU quarters.

The question is, what prompted a level-headed man like Waigel, who does not depend on Strauss and his Munich cabinet, to make such demands? It would, after all, be an illusion to believe that Strauss could bring about a change of policy against stiff FDP opposition. More like is exactly the opposite: the FDP's fear of the CSU and Strauss would be heightened and its defence

There is no more telling evidence of the condition of the Bonn coalition than Waigel's sudden about-turn. At the height of the Lambsdorff crisis, he said that if the minister resigned, the entire cabinet would have to be reshuffled.

The ulterior motive was obvious: mechanisms mobilised.

The fact is that the CDU/CSU has no Bundestag majority and therefore needs a coalition partner. It is also a fact that the more internal bickering there is the worse things will go.

Nobody who has watched Strauss's malicious sniping at the coalition could believe that he would be a stabilising factor in the Cabinet.

This is shown by a recent outburst: He publicly criticised the Hesse CDU chairman, Walter Wallmann, for not trying harder after the state election to reach deal with the SPD. Wallmann immediately dismissed the criticism.

Does Strauss favour a grand coalition? Does he want Hesse to serve as a model for Bonn? Bonn pundits regard this as less speculative than most people would think.

What plays a role here is not only nostalgia, above all the memory of the Grand Coalition era of 1966-69 when Strauss was Finance Minister and the legendary Karl Schiller held the Economic Affairs portfolio. There is also the hope of a total reshuffle — under no matter whose leadership.

The fact that this is illusory considering conditions in today's SPD is another matter.

But those who want Strauss in Bonn saddle should not underestimate this.

In any event, Strauss has little use for Kohl, Genscher and the present coalition.

Fritz Ullrich Fack

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 December 1983)

■ PEOPLE

Willy Brandt, 70, still a political giant despite setbacks and heart attack

The deep wrinkles in Willy Brandt's face can trickle with tears of laughter. They can also mark him as a politician raring for a fight or a man lost in thought.

His features are certainly very expressive. He is unrivalled among German politicians still on the active list for the qualities he combines.

They range from human warmth and subtle humour to an aggressive irreconcilability verging on the malevolent.

Willy Brandt is like his face: varied, manifold, complex and, in the final analysis, difficult to fathom.

He was unable to celebrate his 65th birthday, having just sufferd a heart attack. On his 60th birthday he was still Bonn Chancellor, but his star was already waning.

Now, at 70, he is still a major personality among Germany's Social Democrats even though he no longer holds direct political power.

He is also a key figure in German politics, having been SPD leader for 20 years, a position held longer only by August Bebel, a founder-member of the Social Democratic Party.

"The new Ostpolitik was Willy's major achievement, an accomplishment we have been unable to rival," former Bonn government spokesman Klaus Bölling reports ex-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to have said just before he was ousted in October 1982.

Willy Brandt is clearly the Bonn Chancellor who has made the greatest impact on the history of the Federal Republic of Germany after Konrad Adenauer from the present domestic vantage-point.

Ludwig Erhard may have been the founding father of the social free market economy, but he laid its foundations as Finance Minister under Chancellor Adenauer and not as Adenauer's successor.

Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik is indeed his lasting achievement.

History has not passed final judgment on it; it is only 14 years since he took over as Chancellor. Besides, his Ostpolitik does not compare with Adenauer's Westpolitik.

Brandt embarked on his policy at a time when he was in a position to "normalise" relations with the Soviet Union or Poland.

But the confrontation between the superpowers along the Iron Curtain ruled out friendship such as came about between Germans and French, British or Italians.

The Iron Curtain still exists, even though it is now manned mainly by the GDR's National People's Army, and although it might be made less impenetrable it would still remain dreadful and inhuman.

Irreconcilable the systems remain, as the missiles dispute has continued to show, but on the quiet, in the wake of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, there are still hopes of a modicum of peace.

Ostpolitik grew so popular that the German word was borrowed and taken over directly as a current affairs concept by neighbouring Western European languages.

It came to be regarded as synonymous with the new German desire for peace, due in part to the moral viewpoint to which Willy Brandt credibly laid claim.

Ostpolitik laid the groundwork for Willy Brandt's reputation as probably the most highly respected German politician in the world today.

The photo of Chancellor Brandt on his knees in front of the Warsaw ghetto memorial went the rounds of the world's Press as a symbol of the new Germany that struck at people's heartstrings.

In political practice there can be no denying that his Ostpolitik has made many things much easier; for people in Germany in general and in Berlin in particular.

It has facilitated cooperation between Germans and their neighbours to the east in the political, cultural and, especially, the economic sector.

The current state of affairs may be poles apart from the ideal. Ill-disposed partners could easily bring about a deterioration of the situation in future.

But it is undeniably an advantage that intra-German travel has been made easier, and be it only in an easterly direction.

Willy Brandt stands for other terms than Ostpolitik that have made an indelible mark on German political vocabulary.

Peace policy, for instance, is a term very much associated with him. So are "more democracy" and "equality of opportunity." They may not be terms he coined, but he brought them into currency.

This is the point at which a number of domestic issues arise that Willy Brandt has yet to answer satisfactorily.

Did his concept of peace policy not create the impression that any alternative to the day-to-day decisions he reached were *per se* anti-peace?

What political damage he wrought at an SPD conference when he claimed that the Opposition CDU/CSU lacked the ability to opt for peace!

Christian Democrats today, such as Heiner Geissler and Gerold Tandler, *may rightly be accused of overstepping* the mark with their political comments.

But it must not be forgotten that it was Willy Brandt who referred to journalists as "desk miscreants" at a time when the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem was still a recent memory.

The term "desk miscreant" was widely used to denote the breed of Nazi officials who didn't actually do the dirty work but merely organised it from their civil service desks by means of lethal paperwork.

Neat turns of phrase created illusions in value terms even though terms such as progressive, quality of life or New Centre had no exact meaning.

Willy Brandt is certainly a past master at making political speeches. He is also capable of being verbally ruthless.

He is a man who can radiate intense charm and gain the affection of many. He is also a man who has no difficulty in coming to terms with the authority he commands.

At the hustings people still cheer him with familiar shouts of "Willy!" — although not as often as they used to do.

His staff at SPD head office in Bonn still refer to him as the boss.

In foreign affairs he has partly succeeded in maintaining the authority he commanded at his peak.

It was an authority gladly vested in him not only by fellow-Social Democrats but also by many members of the general public.

The SPD's departure from Nato's dual-track missiles decision was, in the final analysis, a change of course he engineered.

But he forfeited much of his credibility while still in office. In 1969 he set great store by educational policy, which was to be a key domestic and social policy objective.

Soon, however, it began to mark time. Public funds ran low and were nowhere near adequate to carry out his ambitious plans.

Disputes arose, up to and including arguments as to whether school, as part of the new educational system, was to be for learning or merely for rehearsing political ritual.

Brandt, far from mediating in such disputes, was nowhere near in command of the situation.

At a time when the economy was overflowing the Brandt government set up such a closely-meshed network of welfare provisions that it is threatening tto break under the current strain of scarcer funds.

So he cannot be said to have come a cropper as Chancellor solely on account of Günter Guillaume, the East German spy at the Chancellor's Office.

Guillaume was merely a convenient opportunity to replace a Chancellor and ensure the SPD retained power in Bonn. Willy Brandt would probably not have survived 1974 in office in any case.

It took him time to recover from the shock of having to relinquish power. But once he had, he devoted himself entirely to Party work, often far away from the irksome exigencies of day-to-day politics.

Brandt's importance still lies in the fact that the Party follows him and he follows the Party, both preventing an SPD split that has been forecast for decades but never really been a serious threat.

For the Party's sake he felt able to abandon previously-held beliefs. He abandoned the decision by heads of government to vet for political extremism applicants for public service posts.

Brandt backtracked on the decision to stamp out extremist views among civil servants and public service workers on account of protests by "young people" (whoever they were).

He backtracked on the Nato missiles decision when the peace movement took shape, the Greens took over part of it and many Social Democrats felt attracted by the result.

Party unity is clearly such a major objective for him that he is prepared to make many an opportunist volte-face on its account.

This has the advantage that Social Democracy will remain a large and mainly predictable political force in the Federal Republic of Germany.

It has the disadvantage that Social Democrats will tend more strongly than 15 years ago to embrace ideological and at times sectarian ideas.

That could lead eventually to the SPD not being available as a mainstay of the system for a while because it has lost touch with the political centtre.

Any party that aims to be in a position to govern the Federal Republic must keep in touch with the middle of the road.

Willy Brandt has decided in favour of Party unity as the foremost objective of the SPD, understandably so as the SPD leader.

He is the last of an erstwhile troika *consisting of himself as Party leader,* Helmut Schmidt as Chancellor and Herbert Wehner as SPD leader in the Bundestag to retain office.

He will shortly come up for re-election for a two-year term as Party leader but he is unlikely to be able to answer a question that may arise.

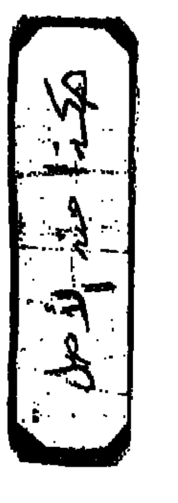
It will be whether the SPD needs a fresh Godesberg manifesto, the 1959 policy document by which the Social Democrats abandoned socialist dogma and sought to gain the support of middle-of-the-road voters.

Gottfried Capell

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 17 December 1983)



Willy Brandt and his new wife, Brigitte, pictured at a football match at the end of last season. Herr Brandt, who turned 70 in December, was married to Frau Seebacher, 37, a few days before his birthday. The ceremony was a quiet one at the registry office in Unkel, a small wine-growing town near Bonn, where they have lived together for some years. (Photo: Sven Simon)



■ THE LEGAL SYSTEM

Constitutional Court deals census a blow

The State cannot force a person to reveal information in a census, the Constitutional Court has ruled. Several other rulings were also made which will make it much more difficult to hold a census. Earlier in 1983, the court issued an interim ruling which meant that a planned census last year could not be held.

The Constitutional Court ruling on the 1983 Census Act upheld virtually every objection raised to the census as planned.

The eight judges upheld the appeal on all points even though they only declared null and void a small section of the Act that had always been controversial.

Everything else is contained in the provisos, advisory remarks and democratic reminders the court saw fit to direct at lawmakers and the government.

The ruling renders unto Caesar that which is Caesar's. The census as a total questionnaire is held to be necessary and indispensble if today's complex constitutional system of government is to govern constitutionally.

In the same breath, however, the court says that in the computer age censuses can no longer be conducted in a manner befitting an age when civil servants wore sleeve protectors.

The ruling is not a judgement against the state, as may be claimed. It is a judgement against bureaucracy. The Constitutional Court has ordered it to learn how to run the country in a manner befitting the modern era.

Those who reject the state in any form cannot claim the ruling is one that is firmly on their side.

It tries to apply to complex conditions in an industrialised society the classic principles of human rights as framed 200 years ago in the US Declaration of Independence and during the French Revolution.

The need for data protection commissioners is reaffirmed in the ruling in much the same way as it follows, less implicitly in this instance, that constitutional court judges have a part to play in democracy.

This pointer to the future may in a way be a parting shot by outgoing Chief Justice Ernst Benda. It could be held against the ruling.

Criticism is sure to be levelled at the "right of informational self-determination," details of which are still a little hazy.

It is the Constitutional Court's first ruling on the threshold of a new viewpoint on the relationship between fundamental rights and technological advances.

So it is a new departure and the last word has yet to be said on the subject.

There is a striking note of exhortation in the way in which the ruling seeks to keep the peace and help to surmount in an understanding manner what the court feels is justified emotional mistrust of such a rational procedure as a census.

The Constitutional Court judges in Karlsruhe seem to have a clearer idea of what worries perfectly honest citizens than either their elected MPs or the government that drafted the legislation.

All the objections the ruling refers to could have been avoided with a little forethought and common sense. It mentions a number of clear breaches of regulations in force prior to the Census Act.

Comparing the census forms and local authority lists of who is registered as living where was an even worse error of judgement than the ruling says.

So was the idea many local authorities had of paying bonuses for each unregistered resident unearthed by census headhunters.

Given such abysmal handiwork by the lawmakers who would carp at the Constitutional Court ruling?

Erhard Becker

(Handelsblatt, 16 December 1983)

The ruling

The Constitutional Court has imposed a number of restrictions on future censuses, stating in its 15 December ruling onthe 1983 Census Act that the state cannot insist on citizens divulging any item of information.

The legislature must consider before drafting census provisions whether the informant might be running the risk of being socially "labelled."

One question envisaged in the 1983 census was whether the informant was in an institution. This, the court said, was unconstitutional.

But no censure was allowed on this point because none of the appellants were personally affected.

In future, the Karlsruhe justices ruled, people must be informed in writing that everyone is entitled to a separate census form on request and entitled to return the form in a sealed envelope or mail it to the census department.

It must be made perfectly clear that a number of items of information, such as telephone numbers, need only be divulged voluntarily.

Such rights were not readily apparent to the general public and could only be inferred from the legal small print.

People for whom a conflict of interest might arise, such as police officers, must not serve as census officers. Officers must not work in areas near where they live.

Identity and serial number must be struck from the records as soon as possible and kept separate from other data until this was done.

Data protection commissioners must also be able to check at all times that precautions were observed.

Hans Holfeld

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 December 1983)

Top justice bows out after 12 years in office

Ernst Benda retired as Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court on 20 December. He was the fourth man to hold the post and a judge with a complete command of his subject.

He had been a Constitutional Court judge since the end of 1971, being appointed to the helm of 14,000 German judges at 46.

He was the youngest-ever Chief Justice. His three predecessors, Hermann Höpker-Aschoff, Josef Wintrich and Gebhard Müller, were all much older when they reached the top.

He is a lawyer by profession and a politician by inclination. As Chief Justice he wasn't a hard man; he preferred to discuss forthcoming issues.

As a Christian Democratic MP in the Bonn Bundestag in 1965 he made a name for himself in the debate on the statute of limitations.

He argued that prosecutions for Nazi crimes should continue even though offences might, under the criminal code, have come under the statute and no longer be liable to be brought before a court.

He showed stamina as Inerior Minister under Chancellor Kiesinger in the days of the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats.

That was in connection with the Emergency Powers Bill, which the two parties saw through after years of controversy.

Professor Benda, pipe-smoker and sports car fan, took over as Interior Minister in March 1968 when Paul Lücke resigned after the failure of electoral law reform proposals.

He is the author of many books, including *Verjährung und Rechtsstaat* (Statute of Limitations and Rule of Law), 1965; *Notstandsverfassung und Arbeitskampf* (Emergency Powers and Industrial Action) 1963; *Industrielle Herrschaft und sozialer Staat* (Industrial Power and Social State), 1966; and *Die Notstandsverfassung* (The Emergency Powers Act), 1966.

He is 58 and was born in Berlin. He worked as a construction worker after the war, then studied law, political science and journalism.

He set up in legal practice in Berlin in 1956, having joined the CDU 10 years earlier, headed the Christian Democrats' youth organisation and served on the city council from 1955 to 1957.

He was then a CDU member of the Bonn Bundestag until 1971. He became parliamentary state secretary at the Interior Ministry in 1967 and was unanimously elected Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court in 1971. *dpa*

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 20 December 1983)



Ernst Benda . . . sports-car fan

(Photos: Sven Simon)



Wolfgang Zeidler . . . neutrality

New man at head of the bench

Wolfgang Zeidler has taken over from Ernst Benda as chief justice of the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe. He was Benda's deputy.

He is the fifth man at the helm of the Constitutional Court. The others were Hermann Höpker-Aschoff, Josef Wintrich, Gebhard Müller and Ernst Benda.

He is also the first Social Democrat to be appointed to the job in 32 years. But it will only be his for four years at most.

In December 1987 his 12-year term as a Constitutional Court judge expires.

Professor Zeidler, 59, was born in Hamburg. His distinguished legal career before going to Karlsruhe in 1975 included a five-year term as chief justice of the Federal Administrative Court in Berlin.

He was on friendly terms with Chancellor Schmidt, whom he had known since the early days of the Socialist Students' League, and gained preferment in Karlsruhe.

But he hasn't been markedly pro-SPD on the bench, and he needed no acclimatisation in Karlsruhe to observe strict party-political neutrality.

A number of rulings he has given as senior judge of the Second Senate have most upset Social Democrats. They include one on conscientious objection to military service.

Few if any members of the SPD are likely to have referred to him as "our man in Karlsruhe."

In common with his predecessors, he has not contented himself with the role of an impartial referee unaffected by the cares of the world.

Some of his speeches and published work has been spectacular and prompted strenuous objections.

In 1980 he lamented the weakness of the state in dealing with lobbies and special interests, with reference to the *power enjoyed by farmers, civil servants,* doctors and the legal profession.

He has outspokenly attacked the Social and Free Democratic divorce law reform, which the Constitutional Court has since amended in some respects.

He is in favour of a stronger legal position for the family.

Professor Zeidler is undeniably a man of conservative views, but like many Social Democrats of his persuasion he is almost progressive in his opinions on the social obligations of property.

He is certainly not an easy man to pigeonhole. *Roderich Reifenrath*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 December 1983)

■ BUSINESS

Philips to take over Grundig management

DIE WELT

Grundig, Germany's largest consumer electronics company, is to be managed by Philips, the Dutch electronics group.

Philips already holds 24.5 per cent of Grundig which it bought in 1979. It is not expected to increase this, probably in an effort to get approval from the German Cartel Office for the expanded relationship.

The change is part of Grundig's effort to meet the commercial challenge of the Japanese. Max Grundig, 75, the founder, has for a long time sought to use European cooperation as a means of combating Japanese competition.

In 35 years he has built the firm up from nothing to an organisation with annual sales of DM3bn. The Grundig family holds 75.5 per cent of the company shares through the Max Grundig Foundation.

Although Max Grundig will retire from management when Philips takes over on April 1, he is expected to retain a large minority shareholding, probably 49 per cent.

This would mean that he would still be the largest shareholder and could become chairman of the supervisory board.

He is also likely to continue advising on new products. So those with worries about what might happen if his strong managerial hand were removed have had their fears allayed.

The new management could well steer a more steady course than the old one which has done some spectacular seesawing in the past few years.

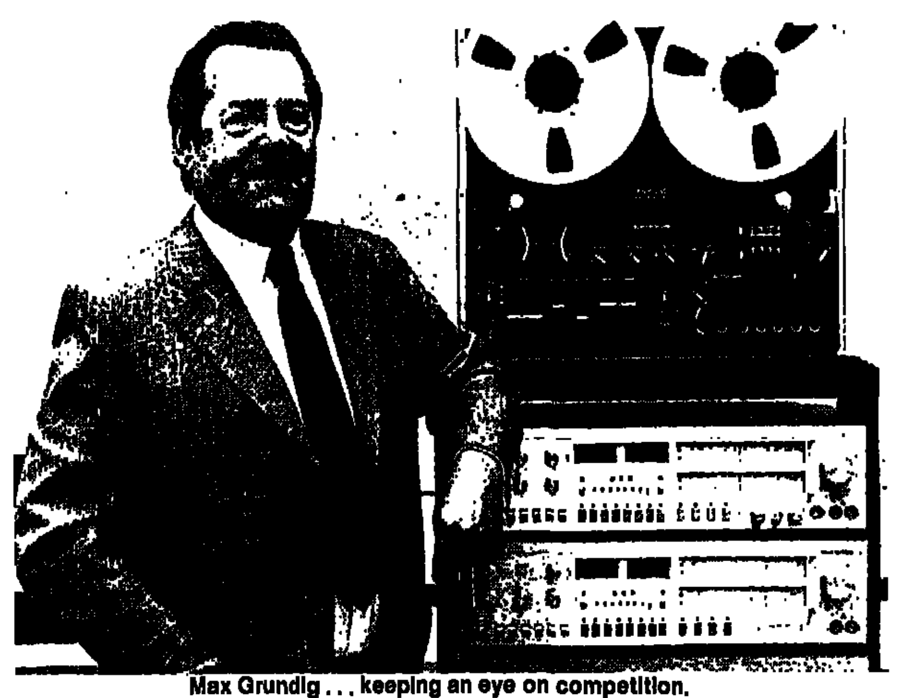
There was, for instance, the pullout from a deal to take over Telefunken (which was connected with an aborted take-over bid for Grundig by the French Thomson-Brandt company).

A system of depot distribution not long established has also been abandoned.

The de facto take-over by Philips will completely change conditions on Europe's consumer electronics market. Though Grundig is to continue as an independent company, it is unlikely it will remain in competition with Philips.

This means that, apart from a few small companies like Metz or Schneider, there will now be only two major European blocs of consumer electronics manufacturers: the French Thomson-Brandt (represented in Germany by Telefunken, Saba, Nordmende and Dual) and Philips, with its Grundig stake and Loewe-Opta.

Size has become a major factor in the fiercely competitive consumer electronics business in Europe, even though a few dynamic small companies seem to prove differently.



Max Grundig . . . keeping an eye on competition.

(Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

The worst pressure on the European market comes from the Far East, particularly Japan, which by now dominates even the market for the most sophisticated consumer electronics.

With products like hi-fi sets and portable colour TV sets Europe has already lost the battle, and in the video business it never even got off the ground.

Although essentially a loner, Grundig was one of the first European manufacturers to recognise the need for a European solution to Japanese competition.

He regarded the 1979 deal with Philips as a "*concept that could one day* serve as a model for a larger European conglomerate."

Convinced of his idea, he developed something of a missionary zeal in matters of European cooperation.

Other manufacturers agreed with his ideas in principle, but most disagreed over details. So Grundig decided to create his own conglomerate.

A beginning was to have been made with the take-over of Telefunken. But this was dropped when Thomson-Brandt showed interest in Grundig.

In the end, the Thomson-Brandt/

Continued on page 7

Small firms go public to raise development cash

The high cost of innovating and developing new technologies is forcing small companies to seek public stock listings.

Investors are eagerly waiting for new share issues. Successful newcomers to the stock exchanges include Wella, Gestra, Herlitz, SM Software and GFC.

Proable newcomers include SKF Kugelfischer, Etienne Aigner, Zanders Feinpappe and Konrad Hornschuch.

One firm that has pulled itself out of trouble by a share issue is the Lübeck-based marine engineering firm of Drägerwerk AG.

When it went public, it owned only 28 per cent of its capital value. But the public share money enabled it to embark on a policy of growth.

Going public means that careful preparation is needed. Specialists are often consulted. Management consultancies and specialised banks, for example. One of the latter is Hamburg's Marcard & Co.

The Frankfurt *Institut für Recht und Wirtschaft* is often consulted. Its founder, Walter Schürmann, knows of about 50 companies that want to go public.

An advantage is that cooperation deals become more possible.

Helmut Ronde, Gestra board member in charge of finance: "People used to ask us how long we could survive as a family operation. They simply have more faith in a company quoted on the stock exchange."

Dr Friedrich Grundmann, vice president of the Hamburg Securities Exchange, is also convinced that a year of new share issues is on the way. "The interest has been aroused," he says.

But he cautions companies seeking a listing that they should be able to show "decent profits over several years. We are delighted to receive any new share issue provided it rests on a sound foundation and is not purely speculative."

Dr Grundmann says the need for capital and inheritance considerations, are the main reasons for going public.

"Heirs have more scope of action with shares traded on the stock exchange."

Legislators are also trying to help newcomers to the stock exchange.

Issuing costs for stocks aimed at small shareholders are to become tax deductible next year.

The Bonn Finance Ministry has also suggested a second market for share trading where the strict regulations governing the official stock exchanges would not apply.

This plan is also supported by Hansjörg Häfele, state secretary at the Finance Ministry.

Everything must be done to enable business to meet the technological challenge and pay for investments, he told a specialists meeting in Hamburg.

The second market would benefit small and medium-sized companies intending to go public.

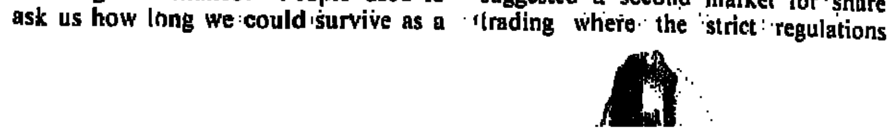
Costs of commissions for the issuing firm or consortium, corporate taxes that go with conversion to a public company and the cost of prospectuses plus legal fees and the printing of the shares themselves are high enough to deter many a small company.

German investors will probably have to wait a while before a really attractive new issue hits the stock exchanges.

The computer maker Heinz Nixdorf is still biding his time. But by 30 June 1984 he has to decide whether he will buy back a block of shares now held by Deutsche Bank or whether he wants to throw them on the market and make them available to small investors.

The recent issue of staff shares at DM270 met with such demand that he could have sold his company to the staff ten times over.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 18 December 1983)



Bonn urged to draw up list for privatisation

A businessmen's association warns Bonn to draw up a firm denationalisation plan. *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Selbständiger Unternehmer* (ASU) has drafted its own listing of companies that should be privatised in the next three years. An annual trading volume of about DM3bn is involved.

ASU chairman Martin Leicht says all federal business holdings are questionable in principle.

It would take strong reasons not to privatise individual enterprises.

The ASU analysis is based on the assumption that all enterprises that compete with private companies or are profit oriented can be denationalised.

It names 33 companies with a nominal federally held capital of DM5.226bn that should be privatised.

Of them, 28 with a federally held nominal capital of DM3.58bn should be privatised in the next few years.

Some government-held enterprises with the legal status of limited companies would first have to go public.

ASU estimates the volume of federal holdings that could be put on the market between 1984 and 1986 at DM10bn averaging out at an annual DM3bn.

Capital increases of German companies via the stock exchange over the past few years averaged about DM3.5bn a year.

ASU says that the fixed interest securities market would also have to be taken into account.

The study says that DM74bn worth of domestic bonds and debentures were issued in 1982 alone.

ASU urges suitable measures that would make the stock market more attractive at the expense of fixed interest securities.

The study says that privatisation does not have to be done in one fell swoop. It would be progressive.

This is the ASU schedule for privatisation. The federal holdings affected are in brackets. Veba AG, for example, would have 13.75 per cent sold off in 1984, 15 per cent in 1985 and 15 per cent in 1986:

● 1984: Veba AG (13.75 %), Volkswagen (10), Lufthansa (26.91), Bayerische Lloyd (26.22), Berliner Industriebank (68), Treuarbeit (45), Vereinigte Industrie-Unternehmungen AG (46.99).

● 1985: Veba (15), Volkswagen (10), Lufthansa (25), Vereinigte Industrie-Unternehmungen (40), Deutsche Industrieanlagen GmbH (50), Industrieverwaltungsgesellschaft (50), Prakla-Seismos (55), Deutsche Pfandbrief-Anstalt (79.76), Deutsches Reisebüro (50.1), Amtliches Bayerisches Reisebüro (55), Reisebüro Rominger (90), Schenker (100), Deutsche Touring (50.1).

● 1986: Veba (15), Lufthansa (25), Deutsche Industrie-Anlagen GmbH (50), Industrieverwaltungsgesellschaft (50), Prakla-Seismos (40), Deutsche Siedlungs- und Landesrentenbank (9..), Deutsche Verkehrs-Kreditbank (100), Gesellschaft für Nebenbetriebe der Bundesautobahnen (100). The same applies to federal equities in airports, the Duisburg-Ruhrorter Hafen AG, the Rhein-Main-Donau AG and the Neckar AG.

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke

(Die Welt, 16 December 1983)

■ FINANCE

Stoltenberg: a steady hand on the nation's till

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg (53) is so thrifty that he thinks twice before entertaining an official visitor at government expense.

The 1984 Budget, the first he has been entirely responsible for, clearly reflects this thriftiness.

It might evens become a monument to one of the best finance ministers this country has had.

Fritz Schäffer was one in the same league — while the late Chancellor Konrad Adenauer still trusted him. Schäffer's basic trait was financial solidity.

Stoltenberg uses the word "solid" conspicuously often. And he is as solid as they come. His political career has been solid and unbroken. His manner of speech is solid and free of mannerisms.

Stoltenberg is loyal, dependable and he has a capacity for hard work. He demands all three from his staff as well.

He is a keeper of the treasury who weighs every word like an assayer weighs gold dust.

He has been a lucky choice for the nation, the cabinet and Helmut Kohl, and perhaps for the political reputation of a country that has often been seen as dominated by big money.

Bonn's treasury is in fine shape. The deficit is a few billion marks less than originally anticipated - something even Stoltenberg's critics must applaud.

The rise in inflation has been halted. The economy has made an unexpectedly quick recovery and the budgetary position has improved, he told the press a few weeks ago without a trace of triumph.

The satisfaction he felt was evident only in his choice of words and the somewhat more liberal than usual use of the comparative.

Stoltenberg does not need to sell himself: his record does it for him like a commodity that keeps appreciating, slowly but surely.

It is this continuity that lies behind his rise in politics.

The fact that he probably wanted to climb the ladder without ever showing it does not speak against him. He never flaunted his ambition.

Some milestones: national chairman of the young members' branch of the CDU, youngest State assembly member, youngest Bonn MP and youngest cabinet minister.

Perhaps because he has had political responsibility from an early age, he has always been seen as a "senior politician," one of the established men who has always ridden the crest of the wave. Stoltenberg has never been a man of the people. He has remained aloof. When he was Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein he never won elections by a landslide. They were always tight squeezes. But even a tight squeeze is a success in Germany's northernmost state. Within his party, the CDU, Stoltenberg has always had solid backing. He became deputy national chairman in 1969, a position he has held ever since. Stoltenberg's name has been mentioned in connection with the chancellorship nomination ever since Rainer Barzel stopped trying, and it is safe to predict that he will still go places.



Gerhard Stoltenberg . . . loyal, dependable and businesslike.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

But any reference to this seems to embarrass him. He does not like to be referred to as the "strong man" or as "number one" among Chancellor Kohl's ministers for fear that this could lead to speculation. People might think there was rivalry between him and Kohl. And there is none, say confidants of both.

Relations between the two were once strained. So it did come as a surprise in the autumn of 1982, when Kohl formed a new government with Stoltenberg, his Kiel rival, as Finance Minister. This restored friendly relations.

Stoltenberg says a Finance Minister can only be as strong as his consensus with the Chancellor rather than the other way around.

The Chancellor knows that his own political destiny is closely tied to his Finance Minister's performance.

Whenever Stoltenberg speaks of his work he does it in measured words and without dramatisation — unlike a certain gentleman from Bavaria who would be more likely to speak of "cleaning up a pigsty."

Stoltenberg's choice of words reflects his systematic thinking and the solidity of his views on finance. He abhors mismanagement.

His attacks are businesslike and to the point. He doesn't use words like "hypocrite," "slanderer," and so on that often force the speaker of the Bundestag to call the House to order.

He is the sort of politician who is at ease with colleagues from other parties with widely differing political views.

He offered former SPD finance minister Karl Schiller one of the five places reserved for the German delegation at the recent IMF conference. This was not a premeditated decision. He simply happened to have run into Schiller and wanted to pay tribute to his competence.

Conversely, former Finance Minister Alex Möller's frequent telephone calls and visits to Stoltenberg reflect Stoltenberg's acumen.

Another of his predecessors at the Finance Ministry, Hans Matthöfer, finds it less easy to pay tribute across the party fence.

Somewhat agitated despite a heart condition, Matthöfer lambasted the government for speaking of reducing the public debt.

"Never before," he said angrily, then correcting himself, "only once did a Social Democratic government go as deeply into debt as this finance minister."

Even so, he finds words of appreciation for Stoltenberg's ability and praises him for always honouring his word.

One of the men whom Stoltenberg *means when speaking of* "the continuously rising debt at the expense of future generations," Helmut Schmidt, accepts this criticism because it is businesslike.

Stoltenberg is to deliver the address praising the deputy SPD chairman and former chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, at a celebration in Hamburg to mark his 65th birthday.

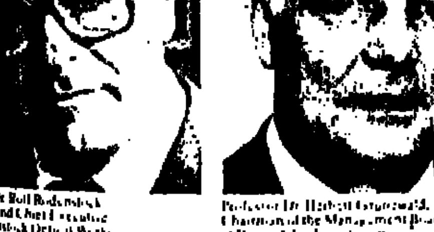
Stoltenberg thinks more of Schmidt as a foreign policy maker than as a financial expert. So it will be interesting to hear what he will have to say. But one thing is certain: Schmidt will be spared any tactlessness.

Eduard Neumaier

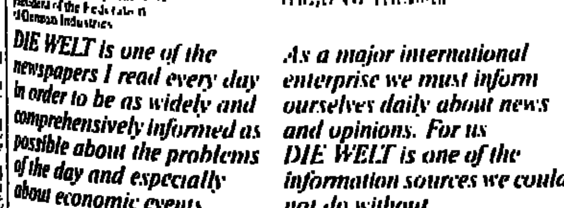
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 December 1983)

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Grundig

Continued from page 6

Grundig merger had to be shelved because of opposition from the Cartel Office and possibly also Philips.

As it worked out, Thomson-Brandt took over Telefunken, leaving Grundig alone once more.

The last step — going it with Philips — took only nine months of pondering.

But it remains to be seen whether Grundig's idea of a European solution to the consumer electronics business can be realised through Philips.

No final contract has yet been signed, and Max Grundig has always been good for a surprise.

Joachim Weber

(Die Welt, 20 December 1983)

■ OUTLOOK

Challenge of the new technologies

Most people believe that computers destroy more jobs than they create, according to polls by the Society for Mathematics and Data Processing.

Half the people polled expected the new technology to ease physical work but the same people also expected extra hardship because of the need for more concentration.

Results of the poll were quoted by a sociologist, Otto Ulrich, at a meeting organised in Bad Orb by the *Evangelische Akademie Arnoldshain* to consider "Computerised Society and the Challenge to Man."

Among the delegates were scientists, businessmen, ministers of religion and journalists.

Amid the talk of a "historic situation," there were some wry observations such as that from one delegate who said that when nobody knew the right road, any road was right.

"Information society" or "computer society" are hard-to-define terms that emerged when computers started being taken for granted for work and play.

Nobody at the meeting doubted that the role of computers would grow. The only question was whether the new technologies would rule man or not. This was a much bigger challenge than earlier technical innovation had posed.

Klaus Brunnstein, Hamburg University data processing expert and former chairman of the Hamburg FDP, made two startling comparisons: after James Watt built his first steam engine, it took close to 200 years to reduce the original monster to the handy size of a 1-hp engine.

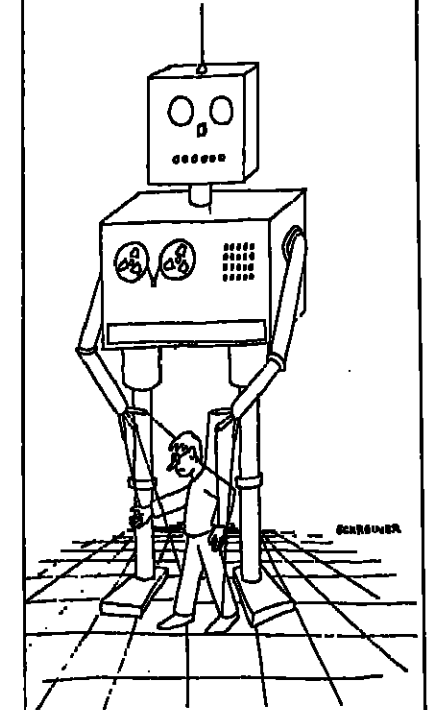
In microelectronics, it took only 35 years to increase the performance of microprocessors to one million times their original capacity.

The gradual development of the engine gave man time to adapt to the consequences of the first technological revolution.

The 35 post-war years since the invention of the microchip are nothing by comparison.

The Bad Orb meeting gave the impression that it was more the speed of developments than the technology itself that frightened the public.

Sociologist Ulrich referred to polls by



(Cartoon: Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

the Society for Mathematics and Data Processing.

Half the respondents expected the new technology to ease physical work, but they also anticipated more hardships due to the extra concentration required; 66 per cent anticipated both more computerised control of private life and progress in medicine.

Seventy per cent thought that computers would speed up administrative work but that administration would become more impersonal.

The surveys confirmed one long-held fear: 76 per cent agreed that computers destroyed more jobs than they created.

Ulrich Briefs of the Economics and Sociology Institute of the Trade Union Federation (DGB) thinks that the number of unemployed will have risen to five million by 1990. Nobody contradicted him.

The extent to which structural changes will contribute to this was left open.

Ralf Reichwald of the Bundeswehr University in Munich stressed the extent to which computers have already taken over office work.

Practically all work involving data at tax offices and in insurance companies was now done by computer

The computerisation wave had already reached specialists. Work that was easily translated into computer language was now increasingly being done by the mechanical brain even on that level.

Managerial staff was less affected. Their decisions were hard to programme.

Michael Brandt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 December 1983)

Japanese says German society threatened by individualism

DIE WELT

Excessive individualism is the main problem of German society, says a Japanese business authority and scholar.

Kanji Hane, head of the Japanese productivity centre in Bad Nauheim who is also a classical scholar, warned that the Greek cities of antiquity became politically insignificant because of their individuality.

Addressing a meeting of the Bielefeld Institute for Management Development (IME) in Bad Sassendorf, Westphalia, he said that Germany was dominated by "formalism."

"You can deduce this from Hegel's dialectics just as you can deduce it from the impeccable form of classical music.

"Formalism is the framework within which German society moves. This is by the many drawers and pigeonholes, cupboards and containers that the Germans are so fond of.

"It is also demonstrated by the official measure of the German beer glass and the mania for cleanliness of many German women.

"Everything must be regulated. Among other examples of German formalism are the major Western banks and the nationalised companies in East Germany."

German formalism had pragmatic and rational functions laid down in clearly worded contracts.

Japan was dominated by human maturity, the recognition of age as an accumulation of wisdom. This explained why top executives in Japan were old.

Pay also largely depended on age and seniority within one company. As a result of mutual trust, employees usually worked for the same company throughout their lives.

Kanji Hane said the fundamental differences between German and Japanese attitudes were because of totally different cultures.

"As a European, the German has always been an individualist. The Japanese is pragmatic and regards himself as part of a community in which the intact family is still the most important element of society."

Japan's industrialisation, ushered in by the Samurais more than a century ago, was backed by all social classes, peasants, artisans, merchants.

This consensus was still true. Germany, on the other hand, had not yet overcome the class-struggle phase.

Akio Miyabayashi, president of the European Minolta Camera Company, said: "The Europeans are descendants of hunters, a society in which the stronger always tries to gain the upper hand. We Japanese stem from a nation of peasants, a society in which only the community counts. The individual has to adapt."

It was only a small step from realising this to issuing a warning to the Germans.

Kanji Hane, a scholar of the classics, pointed to the Greek cities of antiquity. It was their individualism that eventually led to their political insignificance. A similar fate could befall the Germans economically.

Akio Miyabayashi said relatively small differences in Japanese pay rates had made 80 per cent of the population middle class.

Competition on Japan's domestic market had become so murderous that it was only natural for industry to seek outlets abroad. The individual Japanese backed his company and identified himself with it because he knew that if the company sank, he sank with it.

In Germany, he said, industriousness has been taken over by the wish for ever more leisure time, something Japanese found hard to understand.

This prompted Kanji Hane to remark: "What is leisure time? Hardly more than a moon that becomes particularly bright in the light of toil."

He continued on a less lyrical note: "The Germans' one-sidedly materialistic attitude towards work has gone beyond their place of work and entered family life, turning the social landscape into a desert."

He gave this analysis of the German position: "The major problem of West German society is the overcoming of its excessive individualism."

He said the chances of German industry regaining a leading position depended largely on changes of attitude by the trade unions.

Heinz Hildebrandt

(Die Welt, 13 December 1983)

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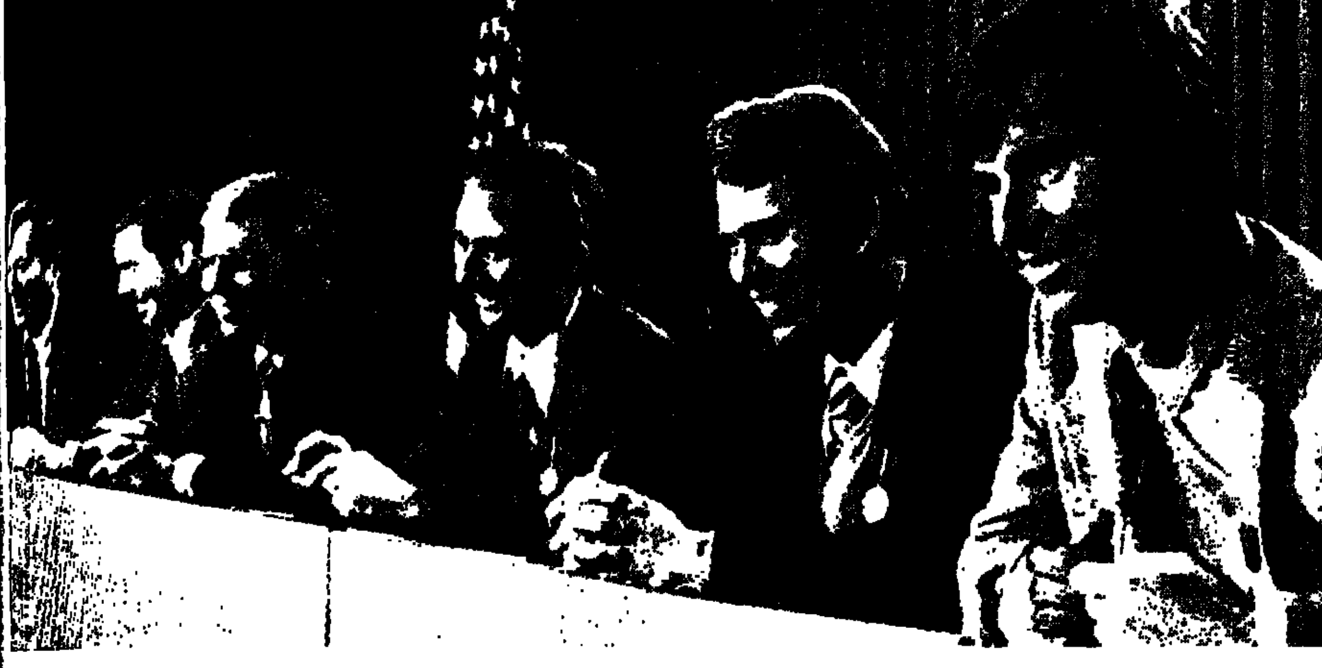
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German physicist Ulf Merbold (at left, on the extreme right) has told a post-Spacelab Flight Press conference that more Europeans should be included in shuttle flight plans, otherwise it would be politically difficult to sell European participation in the project. Other members of the Spacelab crew are from left: John W. Young, the commander; Brewster H. Shaw; Robert A. R. Parker; Owen K. Garriott; and Byron K. Lichtenberg.

(Photo: dpa)

■ RESEARCH

Spacelab experiments interspersed with English curses with a German accent

"We have fully settled down and feel great," German payload specialist Ulf Merbold reported from on board the European Spacelab on its inaugural mission.

Spacelab was put into orbit by the US space shuttle Columbia and returned safely to earth after 10 days in space.

Merbold made this comment in German. It was one of the few German sentences spoken on a mission that otherwise used English only.

The German astronaut even swore in English as a rule whenever a experiment went wrong.

Plenty did during Spacelab's 165 terrestrial orbits, but the mission specialists were able to put matters right for the most part.

So the scientific outcome of the king-sized enterprise is already felt to have been extremely useful. Some experiments even yielded twice the amount of data expected.

But it will be a while before results are available. Materials technologists have yet to take delivery of the alloys made in space, for instance.

They for one will not be able to say for a while how successful their experiments have been.

One interesting result has already come to light in atmospheric research, however. The Spacelab spectrometer has proved for the first time the presence of deuterium, or heavy hydrogen, in the upper atmosphere (at an altitude of about 80 km, or 50 miles).

The distribution of deuterium and hydrogen is also significant. Inferences can be drawn on movements or, put more simply, weather in the upper atmosphere.

That is important if we are to find out more about pollution in the atmosphere. Hydrofluoric acid from spray can gas was also shown to exist in the upper atmosphere.

Extensive probes of the human sense of balance on astronauts Merbold and Parker have brought surprising findings to light.

The longer astronauts spend in space, the more sensitively the sense of balance reacts. The test results may one day help people who suffer from an impaired sense of balance and fits of giddiness.

The European Space agency scientists had bad luck with their microwave radar device that was to have plotted the earth's surface.

It was unable to work as planned on account of a fault in a transmission valve at the outset of the Spacelab mission.

Spacelab was also unable to carry out materials trials designed to pave the way for the manufacture of a new design of turbine rotors.

Other experiments with the three smelting furnaces, experiments largely devised in the Federal Republic of Germany, worked well.

Two of the furnaces worked at 70 per cent of capacity, one at 100 per cent. The shortfall was due in part to a number of technical hitches that beset the materials experiments throughout the mission.

On one occasion Merbold inadvertently threw the wrong switch, causing a short circuit. A crystal experiment that had been under way for eight hours was ruined as a result.

But technical problems were not always the reason why materials trials were abandoned prematurely. Repair bids were often called off by Nasa safety experts.

Nasa rules say that the temperature must never exceed 45°C anywhere inside the cabin, so the payload specialists weren't allowed to take samples that had got stuck in the furnaces out until they had cooled off.

Spacelab's maiden mission was not intended to be a one-off scientific event. Other missions are under preparation and will run alongside several years' evaluation of data from the first flight.

In November 1984, for instance, Spacelab is planned to go into orbit with a payload of medical and materials testing experiments.

The pressurised cabin will not go up with Spacelab on its third mission, which is scheduled for March 1985. It will contain only pallets on which telescopes will be set up to scour space.

The supply devices for these instruments are to be housed in a special small cabin known as an igloo.

The igloo, 1.3 metres in diameter and two metres tall, will be installed in the open loading bay of the space shuttle alongside the instruments.

The fourth flight, planned for June 1985, should be particularly interested.

The Spacelab D-1 mission (D for Deutschland) will be financed 100 per cent by the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology.

Its purpose will be to continue the research begun on the maiden mission. D-1 will take up the materials laboratory again, for instance.

Its payload will also include biological and medical experiments, including trials using laboratory animals and plants.

Other tests will deal with telecom technology and navigation.

In addition to about 20 research establishments in the Federal Republic, experiments will be sponsored by scientific institutes elsewhere in Europe and in the United States.

The European Space Agency planned to manage two Spacelab missions of its own but had to abandon the idea for lack of funds.

Instead, Esa is now banking on the more distant future. For over a year European engineers have been working on Eureca, an unmanned platform for scientific experiments.

Eureca is to be put into orbit by US space shuttle at an altitude of 330km, or 206 miles, in 1987. It will rise under its own steam to 500km, or 300 miles.

It will then stay put for about nine months before being retrieved by the space shuttle and brought back to Earth.

That is not the last move in the game of manned European space research as currently planned. Esa would like to take part in a permanently manned US space station project on which American politicians may reach a decision in 1984.

Europe would like to participate with individual manned modules to be taken up into space by space shuttle and linked up with the US station.

Spacelab is envisaged as a module prototype. The new-look Spacelab has already been named Columbus.

But the maiden mission had first to succeed before further work could go ahead on these more far-reaching plans.

The Europeans used to be pupils of America in space research. Spacelab has shown them to have emerged as equal partners.

Wolfgang Brauer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 December 1983)

Bonn to launch communications satellite

By the end of 1987 the Federal Republic of Germany is to have a satellite system of its own to relay data, text and TV transmissions.

It will be code-named Kopernikus, and the Bundespost has placed the DM815m order with a consortium led by Siemens.

Other members of the consortium are ANT, MBB/Erno and SEL. They are to manufacture two operational satellites and a replacement, plus 34 ground stations to transmit and receive signals.

The first satellite is to be put into orbit by Ariane, the European launcher rocket, in June 1987. It will be followed by the second in March 1988.

No. 2 will merely be on standby as a replacement immediately available and in position. No. 3 will stay in reserve for use if needed.

Posts and Telecom Minister Christian Schwarz-Schilling has stressed that Kopernikus is a tailor-made system designed to exactly meet German requirements.

That was why the contract was awarded to a German consortium even though Siemens have yet to build a satellite. But the Munich-based electrical engineering has ample experience in project management.

It would have cost DM200m to DM300m less to buy a similar system in the United States, but it would have been less suitable for the wider range of demands on which a small country must insist.

The German satellite is to be fitted out with 11 transponders, or transmission and reception units.

It will be capable of handling a wide range of services, first and foremost new digital services such as fast text and data transmission and video conferences.

Herr Schwarz-Schilling also sees Kopernikus as a welcome addition to telephone and data links with Berlin.

The bulk of capacity, seven transponders, will be used to relay TV transmissions from studio to studio or feed them to cable TV networks.

Future satellite contracts would be open to international bidders, he said. The order placed with German industry would give German companies an opportunity of showing what they could do and help to safeguard jobs.

Fifteen per cent of the order would be subcontracted to European suppliers.

The consortium originally wanted to charge well over DM1bn for the system, the Minister said, but an acceptable compromise had been reached.

Including launching costs and value-added tax the satellite system will still cost over DM 1bn, however. A company has been set up to market the satellite's facilities worldwide.

Wolfgang Koch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 December 1983)



The DM32m Henry the Lion gospels (example of an illuminated page, left) will be kept at the Duke August Library, Wolfenbüttel, Lower Saxony (right).
(Photos: dpa, Duke August Library, Wolfenbüttel)

■ BOOKS

Mediaeval manuscripts the showpiece of an old Wonder of the World

Nordwest Zeitung

The 12th century copy of the gospels written for Henry the Lion sold at a London auction for DM32.5m will be kept in the Duke August Library in Wolfenbüttel, Lower Saxony.

The library was hailed as the Eighth Wonder of the World 300 years ago. many of its treasures would fetch a similar price if they went on auction today.

The library in which Leibniz and Lessing once worked as librarians centres around the ornate Wilhelminian *Augusteerhalle*.

But the actual museum section is half a flight of stairs further down. It is a fairly small, dark room with a concrete ceiling. And the three-fronted suspended showcase gives the impression of a treasury.

The walls are lined with volumes on ethics, military affairs, philosophy, rhetoric and poetry — all of them testimonies to 16th and 17th century intellectual life.

The most impressive items, however, are the mediaeval manuscripts and books on display in the showcase, among them several gospels.

One is from the Helmarshausen Monastery, where the illustrated Henry the Lion manuscript was written. But it was written 20 years later than the one completed by a monk called Herimann for Henry, in 1175.

It is known that the newer manuscript was presented by Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hesse to Julius, Duke of Wolfenbüttel, in 1573.

In 1618, it went to the University of Helmstedt (now defunct), returning to Wolfenbüttel in 1815.

The library's oldest gospel dates back to the first half of the 9th century and was produced at St. Martin's Monastery in Tours.

It was intended for the Erstein Monastery in Alsace, which was founded by Irmingard, the wife of Emperor Lothar and daughter of Count Hugo of Tours.

Another gospel produced in the 10th century is reminiscent of the Tours School with its conspicuous purple and gold combinations.

This manuscript, which was made for the Corvey Monastery, later found its way to the Monastery of Klus near Bad Gandersheim.

Another manuscript (stemming from the Convent of Wöltingerode near Vienenburg) dates back to the 13th century.

Among the other rarities are a collection of Bibles, 5,000 incunabula and many speciality collections.

The library's 600,000 volumes have made it a mecca of international research into the cultural history of Europe, especially of the early modern age.

The Henry the Lion gospels will also be the subject of extensive further research.

The sensation caused by the return to Lower Saxony of this work was preceded by another spectacular purchase in 1978. That was when the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* in Nuremberg paid DM4.2m at a London auction for an armband reputedly part of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa's royal regalia.

It was the museum's most expensive and probably most important purchase since 1955 when it bought the Ottonian Echternach Codex for DM1.1m.

Like with the Henry the Lion gospels, Bonn subsidised the purchase of the Barbarossa armband, which is regarded as one of the prime examples of the mediaeval goldsmith's art.

Günther A. Brandt
(Nordwest Zeitung, 8 December 1983)

Children's bible a worldwide bestseller

A children's Bible from Königstein, near Frankfurt, has proved a world bestseller. Nearly seven million copies in 27 languages have been distributed in the past four years.

It has been translated into such lesser-known Latin American and African languages as Quechua and Guarani, Lingala and Moba, Aymara and Malgache.

The initial idea was to give children in Latin American a little Bible of their own. It has since become one of the largest and most successful projects run by an international Roman Catholic charity.

Kirche in Not · Ostpriesterhilfe bases its version of the Scriptures on Jakob Eckner's 1957 Little Bible, which was adopted in 1979.

The charity was set up in 1948, initially to help the Church in Eastern Europe. It relies entirely on donations. Its aim is to help poor and persecuted Christians all over the world and to spread God's word among them.

The children's Bible was a particularly apt way of going about it, given that half the population of Latin America is aged under 20.

The version is specially adapted for the young, telling its tale in 72 short chapters on 64 pages of easy-to-read text interspersed with multicolour illustrations.

The first plans were for a print run of 500,000 each in Spanish and Portuguese and 100,000 each in English and French. They were soon bowled over by events.

A few weeks after the project was presented at the general conference of Latin

Continued on page 11

Leaky roof led to discovery of 1000-year-old Koran fragments

Ancient manuscripts, some more than 1,000 years old, are being restored at Göttingen University. They were written with reed quills on untanned goat and calf hide. Most are Koran fragments.

They were found in the main mosque in Sanaa, the capital of North Yemen.

Günter Brannahl, a restorer at the university, negotiated for years before the Yemeni authorities allowed him to bring the manuscripts to Germany. Most are still in North Yemen.

Technical problems hindered efforts at restoration in North Yemen, although a special workshop was set up there.

Brannahl has been commissioned by the Bonn Foreign Ministry's cultural department, Göttingen University and the government of North Yemen to develop techniques to restore this decaying testimony to Islamic culture.

The discovery of the manuscripts, which are of major importance to Koran research, dates back to 1972 when the flat roof of the mosque developed a leak.

Repair workers found the manuscripts.

"Some of the Korans were complete, but their pages were gummed up, forming a solid mass, like briquettes," says Brannahl.

He made eight visits to the Yemen and thinks that it was the dry air of Sanaa (altitude 2,500m) that protected the parchments from total decay.

"When I first saw the manuscripts, they were stuffed into 14 potato sacks. We owe it to our experience with restoring manuscripts damaged in the war that we could even contemplate tackling the Koran job."

In 1975, Hamburg orientalist Professor Albrecht Noth was allowed to inspect the manuscripts. He confirmed their value, but critised their condition and how they were stored.

Until the Sanaa find, there were some 600 known old Koran fragments scattered in museums and libraries throughout the world.

Professo Noth, whom the Foreign Office put in charge of the project in 1979, found some 25,000 Korans, Koran fragments and manuscripts in Sanaa. All but one per cent of the manuscripts are religious.

The oldest Koran fragments in Kufic script date back to the 12th century.

Professor Noth says that, despite the need for scientific caution, the finds can be described as sensational.

Since the Yemen authorities were reluctant to let the manuscripts leave the country, he suggested a restoration workshop to be built by German experts should work on the manuscripts until sufficient local people could be trained.

The workshop was set up at a cost to Bonn of DM250,000. The Yemen antiquities authority provided the premises and a woman restorer specially trained by Brannahl began work together with an orientalist.

But then the problems began. Some of the ink started running during cleaning.

The Sanaa workshop's technical facilities were not comprehensive enough to thoroughly analyse the ink. The question was, how to separate the gummed pages without damaging the manuscripts. Discolouration had to be removed without harming the text.

It was not until Brannahl's latest trip to the Yemen that he convinced the authorities that the manuscripts could only be saved if he himself managed to find the technical means.

He told them that he would have to take a small part of the find — about 150 fragments and a complete Koran — to his Göttingen laboratory.

Preservation and dating work is being carried out in Göttingen.

Lower Saxony's chimney sweeps rallied to the cause when it turned out that the laboratory needed soot from a fireplace using only beechwood. The soot was needed for the process of analysing the ink.

Two cottages heated exclusively with beech logs were found in the Solling region.

dpa
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 December 1983)

■ ARCHAEOLOGY

Insights into lives of the Phoenicians

The Phoenician girl playing a lyre is a mere three inches tall. The ivory statuette from Saarbrücken, now on show in Bonn, is much more important than her size would suggest.

It takes a full-length photograph to direct the attention she deserves to this charming reminder of a bygone age.

She can be seen on the cover of the catalogue that is such a superb accompaniment to the Early Phoenicians in Lebanon exhibition at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum.

There she stands, reddish against a black background, seemingly winking at us. But the experts say she would have been blind.

All the exhibits are illustrated in black and white and colour. The photographer was Monika Zorn of Saarbrücken University.

The text is by Rolf Hachmann and his staff and tells a great deal in plain language about how the Phoenicians lived.

Professor Hachmann, who holds the chair of prehistory and early history at Saarbrücken, has been digging in Lebanon for the past 20 years.

Maps, drawings and aerial photos are a further guide to what life must have been like, but the catalogue can obviously not go into details of cuneiform script.

Phoenician scripts, inscribed on clay tablets and a jar handle, are among the discoveries made and painstakingly deciphered by Saarbrücken archaeologists.

They spent years on the outskirts of Kamit el-Loz, a Lebanese village. The initial discovery was a stroke of luck, given that Phoenician remains were not what the team were looking for.

But the first find whetted their appetite, and it was followed by years of patient hard work.

Much was carried out by the local people, with whom Professor Hachmann is on friendly and familiar terms, to judge by what he has to say in the catalogue.

The team have excavated to a depth of 7.40 metres (24 ft, 3 in), unearthing a temple, a palace and home and some of the secrets of the people who used them.

They include their customs and gods, but the experts are seldom prepared to go further than venture an opinion and firmly state anything more definite.

There have not been enough finds to be too definite, especially as most are mere fragments and only a few items have been reconstructed with the aid of plaster.

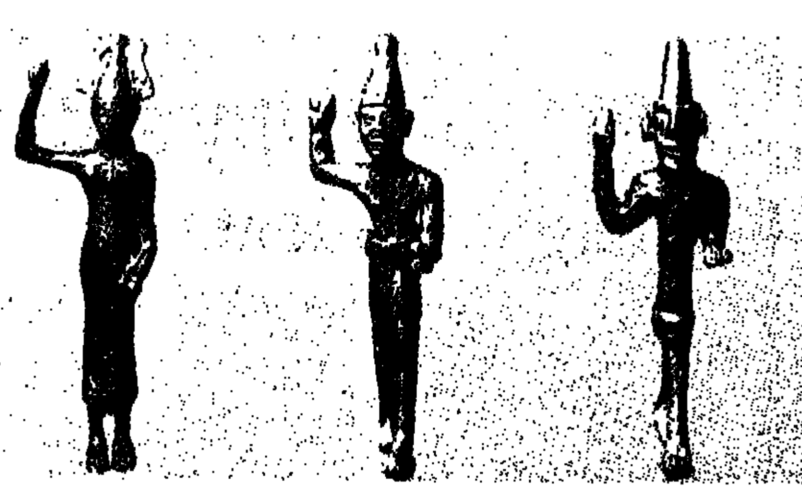
Some of the exhibits are copies; the originals are still in Beirut, where it is hoped they will survive the fighting.

At present no-one is sure what the position is. The museum was damaged when Professor Hachmann last visited it at the beginning of the year.

Ivory, bronze, limestone sinter, clay and serpentine (a greenish stone) are the materials out of which the Phoenicians mainly fashioned their household and cult objects.

Amazingly-shaped human forms have come to light, such as an artistically bowing woman forming part of a handle (cautiously referred to in the caption as a "person").

What was she the handle of? That is one of the many questions unanswered at Kamit el-Loz. Maybe comparable figures will be found in other museums; that is one way in which we can get further than guesswork.



Bronze statuettes from between 1550 and 1100 BC.

The experts were likewise unable to work out the rules of a game for which ivory boards and a few figures were found.

But prehistorians are convinced it was a religious game, some kind of snakes and ladders to the afterworld.

The soul of the deceased has to travel to the kingdom of the dead, the Hall of Osiris, and the experts even claim to be able to identify the Nile on the inlaid work of the board.

It features marquetry animals, the Nile and, at Square 27, a grave. And if the player fails to reach his journey's end and complete the game, he will be dead for ever, according to Ancient Egyptian belief.

The use to which flat bronze plates and little staples were put is clear. They formed part of a breastplate.

Phoenician jewellery also deserves a mention. The girl with the lyre will in real life have had at least silver jewellery, and maybe gold.

Enormous difficulties had to be overcome before the Phoenician exhibits could be flown to Saarbrücken. Two Munich students describe in the catalogue the fun and frustration of digging under pressure in the heat of the Middle East. But what was unearthed made it a fateful hour for archaeology, as staff of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum put it at the opening press conference.

Professor Hachmann, who figures in the catalogue as plain Rolf Hachmann, can be proud of himself.

His modesty compared oddly with the full titles of the patrons of the exhibition, Professor Dr Wolfgang Knies and H.E. M. Mahmoud Hammoud.

M. Hammoud, the Lebanese ambassador in Bonn, stressed in his speech, which he made in French, that this was the first Lebanese exibition ever held in the Federal Republic of Germany.

He was fulsome in his praise of the work done by Proffessor Hachmann and his associates. They had made history come alive again in a fascinating manner.

That is exactly what such excavations set out to do, within their obvious limits. His comment brought him inevitably to Lebanon today.

Once dubbed the Switzerland of the Middle East, it was now torn apart, humiliated and disfigured.

Heinz Mudrich
(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 10 December 1983)



The lyre-playing girl in ivory.
(Photos: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn)

Ancient Greek finds reveal the trading importance of Samos

An abundance of valuable and illuminating finds have been made at the Hera sanctuary on Samos by the German Archaeological Institute, Athens.

Progress was outlined at the traditional Winckelmann celebrations in the Greek capital by the head of the institute, Professor Helmut Kyrieleis.

Professor Kyrieleis, who is also in charge of the Samos dig, said the finds had considerably enriched our knowledge of Ancient art.

A large number of items imported from Egypt, the Near East and the Mediteanean countries show yet again how important Samos must have been as a trading centre in the early days of Ancient Greece.

Most finds were made in two wells that were filled in in the 7th century BC. As the archaic strata lay deep down in the ground water, pumps had to be run throughout the excavations.

A number of wooden objects have survived under water, which is an unusual stroke of luck. They include pieces of furniture, equipment and statuettes.

There is a very expressive head and part of the bust of a female statuette dating back to the early 7th century BC.

The most important find, he said, was a late 7th century sickle-shaped sheet of bronze about 50 cm wide and depicting the fight between Hercules and the two-headed Geryoneus.

The two fighters, animals, trees and birds are shown in masterly detail. The work is embossed and engraved.

The imports among the objects found include an Egyptian limestone statuette of Gods and a king, an Assyrian bronze beaker with a double lion's head, a bronze statuette of a stag and an 8th century BC bronze "antenna" sword from Italy.

All bronze finds were barely oxidised, Professor Kyrieleis noted in his annual report.

The German Archaeological Insitute had also started excavations at Olympia eraly in 1983. Part of the south-western baths from the Roman era were unearthed.

They were still standing in metres of silt and particularly well decorated.

At Tiryns the Lower Castle dig had been completed. It had brought to light 240 clay idols from before 1200 BC and potsherds and fragments of frescoes.

At the Kerameikos in Athens digging continued and restoration of containers found earlier was completed.

They included a red amphora dating back to the mid-5th century BC and showing Demeter in front of a pile of grain and a gaunt farmer with a basket who is obviously begging for grain.

dpa
(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 December 1983)

Continued from page 10

American bishops 17 bishops from Spanish-speaking dioceses ordered 495,000 copies.

This response decided the governing body of the Königstein charity to earmark $1m for the Biblia del Niño, or Spanish version.

It was printed in Spain to cut costs. The postage rates for books mailed from Spain to Latin America are the same as for books posted to destinations in Spain.

The project took a new dimension when the Haitian bishops asked for a Creole translation. Then came versions in South American Indian languages such as Quechua, Guarani and Aymara.

The Aymara translation has just been commissioned. It will be the last of this particular group.

Translators include priests and laymen, but are mostly missionaries in the countries in question.

The smallest print run so far was in 1982 when 5,000 copies were published in Calo, a Western European Romany dialect, for distribution among gipsy children all over Europe.

The children's Bible crossed the Mediterranean to Africa last year, with an Arabic version being followed by translations in Lingala and Malgache.

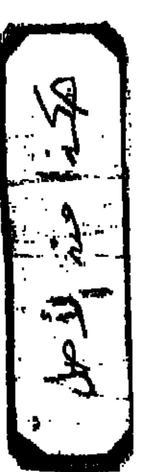
Translations in Asian languages are already available, but the emphasis in the near future is to be on Africa, due in part to mundane considerations.

It is much easier to send books to African countries than to Asia, where in many countries imported books are subject to sweeping restrictions.

The Bibles are distributed via dioceses. Bishops order copies from the international office in Königstein, which now enjoys financial support from the Papal Mission to Children.

In Königstein funds are then allocated to arrange for the shipment of the number of copies ordered to each diocese.

dpa
(Die Welt, 13 December 1983)



■ MODERN LIVING

A million marks worth of sex education material to be destroyed

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Sex education material valued at DM1m is to be destroyed because of objections. The material, 219 copies of a film called *Betrifft Sexualität* (All About Sex) and 80,000 information folders, has been controversial from the beginning.

The folders have been in circulation since 1976, but a State Secretary at the Family Affairs Ministry, Werner Chory, said in reply to a question in the Bundestag that they must be destroyed because they downgraded moral standards and were inconsistent with the government's ideas on sex education.

It was at one time unusual for Bonn to issue information material for schools. The states stressed their sovereignty in education. They reserved their Education Ministries' right to accept or reject the use of the material in schools.

In the end, only Hamburg, Bremen and North Rhine-Westphalia accepted the controversial information folders. But the North Rhine-Westphalian Education Ministry left it to the teachers to decide whether to use them or not.

There were reservations in Bonn about the contents of the material, although "90 per cent of it was good to excellent," according to Ministry press officer, Hartwig Möbes.

It is because of the ten per cent that the lot has to be scrapped.

The film was intended for children aged 15 and over.

Until 1981, anybody interested in the material could get it free of charge from the Centre for Health Information in Cologne.

Supplies ran out and they were not reprinted until October 1982, when there was a change of government in Bonn. Distribution was then discontinued.

What made the ten per cent so controversial? Möbes points to one passage that reads: "There are many forms and degrees of love and affection. 'Sex only with love' can therefore not be a moral command. In the final analysis it is only you who can answer the question whether to have or not to have sex." (The crude German word *bumsen*, roughly equivalent to 'bang' in English, was used for intercourse).

The authors saw no reason to insist that people must be married or at least engaged before having sex.

But the CDU concern is not the language but the content.

Chory said in the Bundestag: "The material encourages sex even without love or deep emotional attachment. It calls into question such constitutionally protected institutions as marriage and family."

Möbes hastened to add that there was no intention of turning back history and that the change of government in Bonn could not change the sex attitudes of the young.

But he stressed that the government could not officially support the view that it should be left to the young themselves to decide if, when and where they want to have sex.

But what does the government want? Does it want to set age limits or introduce guidelines to enable young people to measure the depth of their affection? Why should there be rules and regulations for the most private thing in the world?

Some of the material is indeed questionable.

For instance: the fact that the stubbornly lingering misconception of the harmfulness of masturbation is upheld on the grounds that "people with a bad conscience are easier to keep under control than others."

Though this is a psychological truism, it is ridiculous to turn it into a "criticism of the system." ("Anybody who wants to exercise power in a society will find this easier with people who have a bad conscience.")

There are other logical somersaults which critics regard as equally "progressive" and wrong: "We live in a performance and competition-oriented society . . .

"Those who learn from childhood that they must be better than others (because only this can earn promotion at school and later an apprenticeship) will find it difficult to be considerate and patient with a girlfriend or boyfriend."

This could conversely suggest that anybody who is successful must of necessity also be brutal and selfish.

The illustrations also annoyed Heiner Geissler's Family Affairs Ministry. Instead of the usual drawings there are many photographs of nudes. They are in no way pornographic.

There is only one photograph that might upset people. It shows homosexuals having sex. But the crucial parts of the anatomy are covered.

It is understandable that the government does not want to endorse all views expressed in the material.

Still, experts say that the controversial material could provide topics of debate and dispute at school and in the parental home.

Petra Gerster

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 December 1983)

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Consciousness

Continued from page 13

interpret them in that light. These are the true problems people must solve together."

Professor Creutzfeldt stresses that this does not detract from the scientifically substantiated fact that a normally functioning brain is the precondition of consciousness. it also does not detract from the fact that disorders of consciousness have to do with disorders of brain functions. This justifies scientific brain research.

Horst Meermann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 4 December 1983)

Wives, children 'battered in normal homes'

Abuse, brutality and battering occur more frequently in so-called normal families than has been recognised, says a study made for North Rhine-Westphalia's Ministry for Social Affairs.

The *Land* Social Affairs Minister, Professor Friedhelm Farthmann (SPD), said in 80 per cent of crimes of violence against children the offenders were either related to the victim or were part of the family's circle of friends.

He said that the report showed that "family violence is not due to special circumstances. It is not a consequence of illness in the family nor is it due to outside social factors. It is part of family life and conflicts even in the 'normal' family."

The survey was made by the Hesse Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research, Frankfurt.

Conflicts that eventually culminate in violence usually developed slowly arising from tensions between family members that eventually become intolerable, said the Minister.

Children, the weakest members of the family, often were caught in conflict between the parents or when there were family difficulties.

Some 30,000 cases of severe child abuse occurred every year, Farthmann said.

But experts regarded this figure as only the tip of the iceberg. They estimated the number of annual child abuse cases at 400,000. "Several hundred children are beaten to death by their parents every year," said the minister.

He deplored the fact that outsiders rarely report or recognise cases of abuse.

Professor Elisabeth Trube-Becker, a forensic medicine specialist, said the parents kept using the same subterfuges that frequently convinced even doctors and social workers.

The most common were that the child fell down the stairs or off a chair, that it pulled down the tablecloth with a pot of tea on it or that it banged its head against the edge of the stove or the table.

Farthmann quoted statements by women in homes for battered women as being particularly significant. The information had been systematically collected and analysed over five years.

He said that they conveyed a vivid impression of "the brutal battering that prompted these women to leave home and husband and seek refuge in homes for battered women."

82 per cent of the 500 women interviewed in Duisburg gave battering by their husbands as the reason for leaving home.

The most common forms of physical abuse were beating, choking, hurling to the floor, kicking, punching, hitting with various objects and stabbing with knives and other sharp instruments.

More than 77 per cent of the women suffered injuries as a result of the abuse and 55 per cent needed medical treatment.

Farthmann: "The information makes it obvious that the reasons for leaving home are not trifling family disputes but severe battering by the husband."

There are some 350 to 450 women with children living in North Rhine-Westphalian homes for battered women.

dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 13 December 1983)

■ SOCIETY

The continuing burden of the rucksack German

Saarbrücker Zeitung

Over 12 million Germans ended the war as refugees. They had lost their homeland, been separated from their families and headed west on a dangerous and dramatic refugee trek.

Professor Utz Jeggle and a group of Tübingen students have interviewed survivors to find out how they came to terms with life as refugees.

Twenty students from the Ludwig Uhland Institute at Tübingen University interviewed 50 expellees from former German territories who now live in the Reutlingen and Tübingen areas.

The aim of the two-year survey was not to reconstruct history and the past but to probe the "long-term effects that find expression in memories and are not without influence on the shape the present takes."

The students first interviewed people they knew; all but two of them were the children of expellees. The main aim of this first exercise was to acquaint them with the technique of biographical interviewing.

The second move consisted of coincidental interviews in a part of a Swabian industrial town where refugees made up a substantial percentage or residents.

The aim at this stage was to find out how willing people were to be interviewed and what special difficulties arose during interviews.

The third and final stage of the survey consisted of interviews on specific subjects, such as the old homeland, the importance of religion, the reaction of local people and what they remembered, the role of officials of refugee organisations and the attitude of the second generation.

The findings came as a surprise to Professor Jeggle and his students."The picture of the refugee as painted by refugee organisation," he says, "differs substantially from the reality we encountered."

Expellees may still not be entirely integrated, but with few exceptions none want to return to their old homelands.

It may have been painful but they have come to accept that other people have now made a new home where they once lived and, as one interviewee put it, "have lived there longer than I did."

The sense of loss and their fellow-countrymen's inability to evenly share the burden of their misfortune were wounds the scars of which still existed and had not even healed in the second generation.

Yet few if any refugees now want to go back. It is left to the children in many cases to visit the old homeland, and they have mostly arrived at forms of reconciliation that were alien to their parents.

Their parents want to remember the old country as it is in their dreams and was in bygone days when they were younger and happier.

The paintings, snapshots and arts and crafts from their old homeland with which they decorate their homes are often the only access they retain.

A further finding that surprised Professor Jeggle was that most of the people he and his students interviewed clearly blamed what had happened to them on the war fought by Nazi Germany and on German war crimes.

A majority of the refugees interviewed did not share the view still held by many officials of refugee organisations that crimes and injustice by the one side must be set against crimes and injustice by the other.

"Revanchists in the sense of the 1950s-style rollback theory no longer exist. We found to our surprise that the majority of refugees were on the side of the peace movement."

For many expellees the welcome they were given in the West came as almost as great a shock as their expulsion itself.

Realising that their fate had been the result of Nazi policies they were expecting greater solidarity in the West; what happened was that they were mostly rejected as aliens.

They were not accepted as fellow-Germans and often referred to as Polaks or rucksack Germans. Many remembered being begrudged their reparations payments by non-refugees.

"Every refugee had a farm — on the Moon," one interviewee recalled, echoing a view widely held by those who didn't qualify for wartime and immediate post-war loss indemnification of this kind.

Professor Jeggle says prejudice of this kind led to ill-will that made full integration difficult or impossible. What is more, its traces are still apparent.

To some extent they have even been found to have been transmited to the second generation, particularly in respect of speech problems encountered.

Many refugee children may have grown up in Swabia but fail to feel any inclination to speak the local dialect. As they prefer not to speak their parents' dialect either they generally speak standard German.

Asked where they come from, most refugee children give vague answers. "Where is home?" they ask, or: "I don't need one," Such comments signify problems of identification their generation still has.

Professor Jeggle feels this shows the refugee problem has a long-term effect: "Refugee status creates not just economic but also, and primarily, mental problems that last for longer than one generation.

"This ought to be food for thought, especially as refugees and expellees are an ongoing phenomenon in the present-day world."

Michael Welter

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 10 December 1983)

The ones that didn't trek after the war

An estimated one million ethnic Germans still live in the Oder-Neisse area of present-day Poland that used to be part of the German Reich, Bonn says.

In a letter to CDU Bundestag MP Carl Otto Lenz, Minister of State at the Foreign Office Alois Mertes has stressed that the Federal Republic of Germany has an obligation to protect them.

He admits that the Polish government bears this commitment in mind to some extent by the terms of the bilateral agreements on exit facilities for ethnic Germans from this region.

But he emphasises that Bonn is keen to see Warsaw acknowledge and implement the national rights of its German minority, especially respect for and use of the German language in church and at school.

If these rights were observed the pressure of ethnic Germans keen to migrate to the Federal Republic from their homeland could be reduced in the general interest.

According to Foreign Office figures at least 120,000 Germans in the Oder-Neisse and adjacent areas of Poland would like to settle in the Federal Republic.

But at another point in his letter Herr Mertes says the exact number cannot be assessed at all accurately. Foreign Office figures are based on estimates by the German embassy in Warsaw and by tourists from Poland who have chosen to stay in Germany.

The Foreign Office says the population of the Oder-Neisse region and the Danzig area is 11 million, with the average age of Poles in these areas being lower than in Poland in general.

Herr Mertes is vague on the number of ethnic Germans still living in the northern region of East Prussia that now belongs to the Soviet Union.

According to a 1981 estimate there are only about 1,000 still living in the Kaliningrad, formerly Königsberg, region. Between 1958 and 1982 520 ethnic Germans were granted exit permits by the Soviet authorities.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 December 1983)

Concern over dropping rate of birth

Over the past 11 years the number of Germans in the Federal Republic has declined by nearly 1.5 million, but the decline that lies ahead will be much more drastic, Bonn civil servants say.

The dcline since 1972 has brought the number of Germans down to 56,870,000, but the total population has declined by a mere 70,000 to 61,430,000 because the number of foreign residents has gone up by a million to 4,530,000.

These figures are from a population report drawn up by an inter-Ministerial working party in Bonn for submission to the Cabinet for consideration.

The report was presented to the Press by Horst Waffenschmidt, parliamentary state secretary at the Bonn Interior Ministry.

At this rate there will be only 52.14 million Germans left in the Federal Republic by the turn of the century and a mere 38.28 million by the yearr 2030.

By the turn of the century the number of foreign residents is expected to increase to roughly seven million. This is expected to pose serious challenges to the political system as a whole.

The report stresses that since 1974 the Federal Republic has had the world's lowest birth rate, over a third lower than the rate needed to stabilise the population.

Deaths have outnumbered births since 1972. In 1971 there was a surplus of 47,856 live births; a year later the number of deaths exceeded births by 84,684.

In the first half of the 1960s there were over a million births a year. Between 1974 and 1982 this numer was almost halved.

The increase in number of foreign residents has been due to a fairly high birth rate and a net surplus in migration.

According to the forecast for the turn of the century there will be roughly 1.5 million foreigners from non-EEC countries who have lived in Germany for at least 20 years and a further 2.1 million who have lived here for over a decade. About 400,000 will have been naturalised.

Changes in population pattern rather absolute number are of greater importance for political decision-making. By 2000, for instance, the proportion of under-18s in the population is expected to decline from 22.4 to 18.9, and by 2030 to 15.3 per cent.

The percentage of over-65s will increase correspondingly from 15.1 now to 23.8 in about 50 years' time.

For purposes of social security this means that ratio of pensioners to employed people will remain constant until the mid-1990s, gradually worsening from the turn of the century and progressively deteriorating.

If the birth rate remains unchanged, national insurance will need to increase from 18.5 to 35 per cent of gross income in pension fund contributions.

Alternatively, pre-tax pensions would have to be roughly halved.

The working party concludes that from the turn of the century social security, especially the care of ageing citizens, will be an increasing problem.

Labour market trends, especially job prospects for juveniles, are expected to remain problematic until 1990.

Stefan Heydeck

(Die Welt, 15 December 1983)

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